

American
Federationist



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What we, the citizens of today,
do will shape the world our chil-
dren will inherit tomorrow.♦♦♦♦

If they are to be free and secure
and enjoy happiness, we must
lay the groundwork.♦♦♦♦It is to
building this better world that
the AFL-CIO is dedicated - to the
ultimate good of all mankind.♦♦



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The 1960-61 recession differs in important areas from the previous postwar recessions. An analysis of the present situation indicates that a high level of sales and production will not in itself reduce the rate of unemployment below about 4 per cent unless other causes of joblessness are solved.

These other causes, says the article starting on Page 2, need special treatment over and above an increase in economic activity. They stem from the increasing pace of technological change, depressed areas, job discrimination, imports, etc.

The impact of automation is taking its toll in jobs in both manufacturing and white collar employment, and in the latter category may hasten the unionization of this essentially unorganized area.

The problems of organizing white collar workers into trade unions go back to the historical development of the nation and the labor movement as well as to the mythology that has grown up around the status of white collar workers. The article on Page 6 digs into the background and the differences and similarities between white collar and blue collar workers.

Unemployment and automation are having their impact on the older groups in the population, groups that are growing in size and importance. There is more involved than jobs, however. The nation needs to develop a new approach in dealing with the problems of the aging, as well as producing solutions to now-and-here problems such as health care and housing. The article starting on Page 12 discusses this area and some of the new ideas emerging from the White House Conference on Aging.

The spread of a new management approach to collective bargaining in some industries—insuring the company against revenue and profit losses stemming from strikes—is discussed in an article on Page 17. If the current trend goes unchecked, free collective bargaining is in danger of being subverted.

Other articles in this issue deal with "off-year" political action and democracy's stake in fair and equitable reapportionment of congressional and state legislative seats and the problems of trade union development in the Arab countries of the Middle East.

The American

Federationist

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor
and Congress of Industrial Organizations

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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Chronic Unemployment-- A Problem for the '60s

by Nat Goldfinger



The recent rise of unemployment to more than 6.5 percent of the labor force, with the danger that the jobless rate will probably rise to seven percent or more in the months ahead, has come after seven years of almost steady increase in joblessness. In only 1 of the past 40 months has the number of unemployed dipped below five percent of the labor force.

An expansion of economic activities will ease the unemployment problem considerably, but will not solve it. Inadequate sales and production are major causes of the persistent high levels of unemployment, but they are not the only ones.

The introduction of radical technological changes in major parts of the economy in recent years, while sales and production have increased at a slow pace, has resulted in a lack of new employment opportunities for those entering the job markets as well as for displaced workers. Farmers, factory workers, miners and railroad workers have been displaced in large numbers by the combined effect of changing technology and lagging sales. Three million jobs in those categories have been wiped out between 1953 and 1960.

Other kinds of employment may be affected by technological displacement in the coming years, as automation spreads in offices, retail and wholesale trade. Meanwhile the labor force is growing—by an average of some 700,000 a year in the past seven years and an expected average annual rise of almost 1.4 million in the 1960s.

Radical changes in technology are hastening the decline of entire industries and shifts in industry location, resulting in an increasing number of economically distressed communities. The new industries creating the new technology on the other hand, have relatively small manpower requirements, with increased opportunities for engineers and technicians but slashed requirements for production workers. The change in the government's emphasis from manned aircraft to missiles and space vehicles, for example, has eliminated 200,000 production and maintenance jobs

in the aircraft industry in the past three years, with little change in white collar employment.

The area of sharpest job increases in recent years—state, county and municipal employment—has offered few employment opportunities for displaced unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The increased number of jobs in retail and wholesale trade and in the various services have often been of a part-time nature at low wages. And the rise of clerical jobs in banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions may have provided employment for children of displaced workers but not for job-seeking farmers, factory workers, miners and railroad workers.

The almost steady rise of joblessness since 1953 is quite different from the situation in the decade of the 1930s, when 14 percent to 25 percent of the labor force was unemployed as a result of a sharp drop in sales and production, accompanied by a world-wide depression and collapse of confidence in financial institutions. It is also different from the recurring financial panics and depressions of pre-New Deal America, when the jobless rate would soar for a year or two and then drop back to 5 percent, 4 percent or less.

Ever since the end of the Korean War in mid-1953, the American economy has been moving further and further away from full employment. The recovery from the 1954 recession was incomplete and in 1955-57 joblessness was considerably greater than in 1951-1953. But the problem was ignored by an administration which concentrated its fire on the supposed threat of runaway inflation.

Then came the 1958 recession. Unemployment rose sharply; recovery was nipped in the bud by government policies and was far from complete when the present recession started. The number of jobless in 1959 and the first-half of 1960 was much greater than it had been in 1955-1957.

Now the nation is in the third recession of the past eight years after two recessions from which it never fully recovered.

This almost steady rise of unemployment since 1953 has been accompanied by a somewhat similar rise of short-time work. Beneath the outward

NAT GOLDFINGER, assistant research director of the AFL-CIO, has analyzed unemployment trends through four recessions.

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appearance of prosperous conditions during most of these years is the economy's failure to create enough full-time job opportunities for a growing labor force in a time of rapid technological change.

The following figures indicate the growth of the problem before the present recession aggravated it even further.

	<i>Number of Unemployed</i>	<i>Unemployed as Percent of the Labor Force</i>
1951-1953	2.0 Million	3.1%
1954	3.6 Million	5.6%
1955-1957	2.9 Million	4.3%
1958	4.7 Million	6.8%
1959-1960*	3.7 Million	5.4%

*First-half of 1960.
Source: U.S. Department of Labor

In the seven years, from the first-half of 1953 to the first-half of 1960, before the present recession started, the labor force (all people, employed and unemployed, who are willing and able to work) increased 6 million. But the number of employed people increased only 3.9 million. As a result, the number of unemployed soared 2.1 million.

The record is even worse than these over-all figures indicate. Most of the increase in employment was in part-time work. In the period, when the labor force increased 6 million, full-time employment increased only about 700,000; the rest of the increase was in part-time work.

The total number of manhours worked in all private, non-government activities in 1960 was scarcely greater than in 1953 or 1957—not because of a substantial reduction of standard working hours, but because full-time jobs failed to increase sufficiently.

To get an idea of the size and seriousness of the problem, it would be helpful to compare the recent record of joblessness with what could be defined as full employment—maximum full-time job opportunities for the labor force or minimum unemployment which is due, at any particular time, to temporary causes.

Full employment or minimum unemployment, in an ideal sense, would exist when the number of jobless is about 2.5 percent of the labor force or possibly

somewhat less. With a labor force of about 70 million—as in 1959 and 1960—that would mean average unemployment of approximately 1.7 million. Under such conditions, the small number of unemployed, at any particular time, would be jobless temporarily, because of the following reasons:

- New workers entering the job market.
- Voluntary shifting from one job to another or from one part of the country to another.
- Seasonal changes.

An indication of the meaning of full employment is seen in the record of 1955-1957, a period which has been studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Business activities were relatively high during much of that period; but there were 2.9 million unemployed, or 4.3 percent of the labor force. Of that number, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, only about half—approximately 1.4 million or 2.6 percent of the labor force—fell in the above categories of temporary joblessness. The rest of the unemployed in 1955-1957 were jobless because of other factors—technological displacement of labor, economically distressed communities, job discrimination and, to some degree, an inadequate level of sales and production.

This review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics study is too brief and mechanical for precise analysis, but it does indicate the following: Since the actual level of unemployment in 1955-1957 was 4.3 percent of the labor force, in a period of relatively high business activity, it is likely that a high level of sales and production can bring the unemployment rate down to no lower than about 4 percent, if the other causes of unemployment are not solved. Only if the other causes of unemployment are solved—while the national economy as a whole enjoys high and rising levels of sales and production—can joblessness be brought down to its minimum level of about 2.5 percent of the labor force, without creating widespread and general shortages of labor.

In fact, under ideal conditions, it is likely that minimum, fractional unemployment would probably be less than 2.5 percent of the labor force, since serious efforts by industry, labor and government could

reduce the impact or even temporary joblessness, such as seasonal unemployment.

The attainable practical goal is something less than the ideal state. In that sense, reasonable full employment or minimum unemployment could be said to exist when the number of unemployed is approximately 2.5-3 percent. Whenever the number of jobless is significantly greater than 3 percent of the labor force, there is excessive unemployment and under-utilization of manpower. This should be the practical goal of national economic policy—to achieve and maintain an unemployment rate of approximately 3 percent of the labor force.

An idea of the size of the job that must be undertaken can be seen from the following: In 1959 and the first-half of 1960, before the present recession started, there were 3.7 million jobless, or 5.4 percent of the labor force. With a labor force of about 70 million, reasonably full employment—or a 2.5-3 percent unemployment rate—would have meant about 1.7 million-2.1 million unemployed, with joblessness due to temporary causes. Even in the period between the recessions of 1958 and 1960, therefore, the number of unemployed was almost twice as great as reasonably full employment.

The job of achieving reasonably full employment in 1955-1957 would have been relatively easy. In 1959 and the first-half of 1960—with an unemployment rate of 5.4 percent—it would have been more difficult to reduce unemployment to about 3 percent of the labor force. Once again, there was a failure of government leadership to recognize that a problem existed. Now that America is in a recession again, the job is still more difficult because unemployment is rising and the labor force is growing.

A comprehensive effort during the next two to three years is needed to reduce joblessness to minimum levels of about 3 percent of the labor force and, in the years that follow, to create about 1,300,000 new jobs annually—in addition to employment opportunities for displaced workers—in order to maintain reasonably full employment.

The first and major need is to achieve a rising level of sales, production and employment. In the 1960s, on the basis of the probable increases of productivity and the labor force, the real volume of total national production should increase by an average of 5 percent a year if unemployment is to be kept from rising. Only when the economy is prosperous will employment increase sufficiently to provide jobs for those who enter the labor markets, as well as alternative job opportunities for those who may be laid off because of rapid technological change.

A national environment of prosperity and rising employment is the responsibility of the federal government. Federal tax, expenditure and monetary policies to encourage a continuing expansion of sales, production and employment are needed. It is also in the area of federal responsibility to eliminate sharp eco-

nomic fluctuations and to reduce the impact and duration of recessions.

Business and organized labor can contribute to the needed rise in sales, production and employment—through an increasing flow of buying power to consumers based on adequate improvements in wages and salaries and through price policies which produce increasing profits from a rising volume of sales and low profit margins.

Even in a generally prosperous economy some groups of workers, businesses and communities will be adversely affected by rapid technological change and the spread of automation. Special efforts by government, management and labor are needed to cushion the impact of rapid technological change and assist the specific groups affected.

Government programs and collective bargaining agreements are needed to provide workers with the opportunity for retraining in new skills. Workers whose jobs are eliminated by technological changes also need the chance, on the basis of seniority, to work on new jobs after new production techniques are introduced. Provisions for severance pay, on the basis of seniority, are important to protect displaced workers. In the case of changes of plant locations, workers should be given the opportunity to retain their job-rights in the new plant, on the basis of seniority. There is need for private and government programs to provide workers and their families with the opportunity and financial assistance to move to new jobs in new locations.

A comprehensive national effort is needed to maintain up-to-date information on the spread of technological change and its economic impact, in order to provide labor, management, federal and state governments with guides for policies and legislation to minimize the difficulties that may occur.

Federal government assistance for the increasing number of economically distressed communities is long overdue. Such assistance should include government aid to attract industries into such areas; technological and financial aid to business to change their product lines and to improve their production methods; assistance for retraining workers in new skills; aid for the improvement and development of community facilities; and a federal government program of relocation allowances for workers who wish to move to job opportunities in other communities.

Planning on a community basis, too, is essential in order to restore the economic health of distressed communities. Such community planning requires labor-management-public cooperation at the local level.

The unemployment insurance system at present is inadequate in terms of the level and duration of benefits as well as in great variations of provisions and financial resources from one state to another. The average unemployment insurance benefit payment, at present, is about \$33 a week, compared with average

weekly earnings of approximately \$91 a week for manufacturing workers. Although the maximum duration of benefit payments varies widely, the national average potential duration is only about 24 weeks.

Substantial improvement of the unemployment insurance system is needed through the establishment of adequate federal standards for the state systems on the level and duration of benefit payments and in benefit provisions for unemployed workers who are being retrained in new skills. Coverage under the unemployment insurance system should be extended to many millions of workers who are not now protected by the state laws. Federal re-insurance of state unemployment insurance systems is also needed to strengthen their financial resources. Collective bargaining provisions, such as SUB plans, are important additions to the unemployment insurance systems.

There are very high unemployment rates among non-whites—Negroes and many people of Puerto Rican and Mexican origin. What is needed is a federal fair employment practices law, and as an immediate step, vigorous enforcement of non-discriminatory practices on work performed under government contract.

Non-discrimination in educational and vocational training opportunities is also needed to provide members of minority groups with the chance to develop necessary skills.

The importation of some specific products has had an adverse affect on sections of several industries, on specific businesses and on some specific groups of workers. This problem is similar to the problems of technological displacement and economically distressed communities—specific groups of workers, business and communities are affected.

A trade adjustment bill has been before Congress for several years. This bill, if adopted, would provide federal government assistance for those businesses, workers and communities that are adversely affected by imports. Additional government programs should

be developed to minimize the adverse effect of some specific imports, without jeopardizing the nation's position in world trade, as an exporter of goods as well as an importer.

As technology improves and productivity rises, collective bargaining agreements and federal law should provide for a gradual reduction in the length of standard working hours, with no reduction of take-home pay.

In that way a better balance can be created between the number of jobseekers and actual job opportunities in a period of rapidly improving technology.

The United States Employment Service is in need of strengthening to make it a genuine national job placement agency. The Employment Service should be able to develop continuing lists of job vacancies, in various skill and wage categories, not only in the immediate area of the employment service office, but for other areas as well.

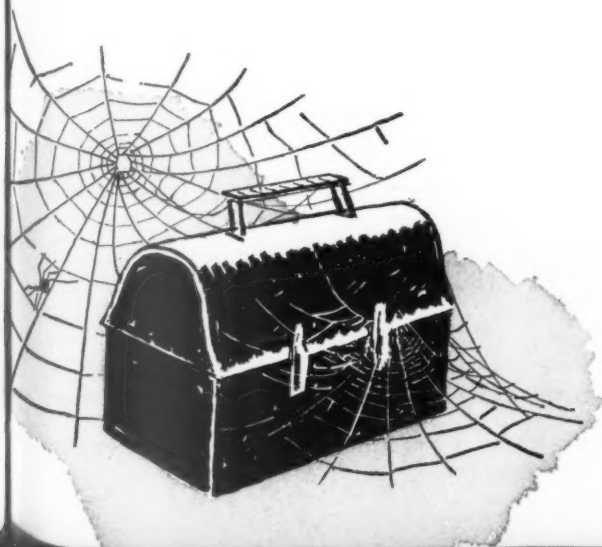
An adequate job counseling service, as part of the United States Employment Service, is needed particularly in this period of an increasing influx of young people into the labor market, changing skill requirements and technological displacement.

Older workers face special problems in this time of rapid technological change and increasing life expectancy. There are many workers with 20 to 30 years seniority or more, whose skills are made obsolete by technological change. If they are too old to be retrained in new skills, special efforts should be made to provide them with adequate job opportunities. Special efforts are needed, generally, to make it possible for older workers to remain at work, for as long as they wish to work and are physically capable.

While measures are needed to provide gainful work opportunities for older workers, there is need also for improvements in the Social Security Act and private pension plans to make early retirement possible. The Social Security Act now provides retirement benefits at 65 years of age for men and 62 for women and most private pension plans require that a worker be 65 before retirement with pension rights; such age limitations should be reduced to enable older workers to retire at an earlier age if they wish to do so.

Rapid and radical technological change requires adjustments in the nation's educational system to prepare young people for useful living and gainful employment. Young people should be provided with adequate education and training to equip them with the basic requirements for jobs in this time of changing skills.

Vocational training and apprenticeship programs should be strengthened to emphasize meeting the job needs of an economy that is increasingly automated. Retraining facilities are necessary to enable workers to develop the technical training and skills for new jobs in automated operations.



Seasonal changes of production schedules are an important cause of unemployment. The impact of such changes in employment can be reduced by better scheduling of production over the course of a year and the development of new product-lines to fill in production schedules during slack seasons.

Reporting pay and call-in pay provisions in collective bargaining agreements prodded management to improve production schedules in order to reduce day-to-day fluctuations. Supplemental unemployment benefit and guaranteed annual wage plans can provide management with incentives to reduce seasonal employment fluctuations. Provisions in collective bargaining agreements and labor-management cooperation can help towards effectively reducing wide swings of employment from one season of the year to another in many industries.

Some measure of economic planning and cooperation is needed. On a national basis the President's Council of Economic Advisers can present annually its

best estimates of the targets needed to achieve and maintain reasonably full employment—in terms of jobs, production, sales, consumer spending, business investment and similar goals—for the economy as a whole and its major sectors. These annual economic goals can become guide-lines for policy decisions by private groups and government, particularly if they are presented for review and discussion at a national economic conference of representatives of the major groups in the American economy.

Labor-management cooperation on a national and industry basis, with the technical assistance of the federal government, can provide the foundation for developing workable solutions for employment problems.

Labor-management-public cooperation at the community level, with the financial and technical assistance of the federal government, can provide the framework for attempting to revive declining areas and to plan for the maintenance of the economic health and employment potential of local communities.

The Transitional World of the White Collar

by John W. Livingston

It is common knowledge that for the first time in our national history white collar workers now outnumber blue collar workers. Since the turn of the century the percentage of white collar workers has more than doubled, increasing from about 17 percent to approximately 43 percent. During the same period blue collar or manual workers percentage-wise have remained almost static.

The technological advances of the past decade have accelerated the relative growth of the white collar force. Further advances in technological innovations are predicted for the future with an accompanying



upsurge in the relative and actual number of white collar employees.

For example, before the 1960's have ended the percentage of non-production workers in the chemical industry will have risen to 50 percent. Ten years ago this group made up not quite 25 percent of the industry's work force. Chemical production increased about 112 percent from 1947 to 1959 but there was only a 1 percent increase in employment of production and maintenance workers over that period.

In steel, the proportion of office and technical workers is expected to rise to one-third of the industry work force by the end of the current decade.

In terms of general employment, by 1975 the white collar group is expected to exceed the blue collar force

JOHN W. LIVINGSTON, AFL-CIO organization director, has a special interest in unionizing white collar workers.

by at least 10 percent. Since more than 80 percent of present trade union membership is found in blue collar ranks, organized labor faces the task of organizing white collar workers as a matter of necessity.

Organizing success among white collar employees depends upon two factors. One—the general environment—is largely outside the control of the organizer who must work with what he finds. The second—techniques or methods—is subject to selection and control.

Labor faces the task of devising organizing approaches responsive to particular organizing situations. Applied to the white collar field, this means first of all a clear understanding of the problems involved, a clear understanding of the people involved. Wide differences of opinion are encountered when the nature of the white collar worker is analyzed. Some observers maintain that white collar employees are no different from other workers. Others insist that the white collar worker is “a different breed of cat.”

The first point of view suggests that no change in organizing methods is required; the second implies that a completely novel approach is necessary. Both are right. It can be said with equal validity that white collar workers are the same as other workers, and that there are many differences.

White collar workers are the same as other workers to the extent they share a common framework of general problems. They work for someone else, corporate or personal. They are subject to managerial discipline. Cost of living problems haunt both. Their employment security is influenced by economic trends.

Manual workers have turned to union membership to solve these and other problems to a much greater degree than have white collar workers. In manufacturing, it is estimated that 60 percent of the eligible workers are organized. This level of membership is much higher in certain sections of manufacturing, rising to as much as 90 percent in transportation

“Increasingly, the white collar worker—and this ranges from the sales clerk to the professional engineer—is a statistic, a payroll item.

“He is increasingly part of a large group of people, all doing the same work. He is several times removed from the sources of authority and power in the management of enterprise. His identification with management is becoming more and more vicarious and the dream that he, too, one day can be a boss is steadily evaporating.

“Automation accentuates, underscores, and emphasizes the process of alienation of the salaried employee from the employer. The introduction of electronic devices as a substitute for highly personal, professional, technical and administrative skills is already having the effect—and will inevitably have the increasing effect—of subjecting the salaried employee to the industrial discipline with its uncertainties and pressures.

“When the white collar person becomes a baby sitter for an automated machine, pride of work gets drained out of his job, and he is going to try to join with his fellows.

“A second factor which should be taken into account in assessing the union’s white collar capabilities is the emerging style of white collar unionism. Structurally, the emphasis among white collar unions, even those that are part of an established industrial union, is in the direction of high visibility identification as a white collar group.

“The special quality of white collar and professional union functioning shows itself in collective bargaining by way of merit-rating provisions, the underplaying of seniority features, and the emphasis on special lay-off and recall rating systems, to include, among other things, education and merit.”—**JACK BARBASH**, *University of Wisconsin labor economist*.

Machines and assembly lines have routinized office work, making white collar jobs impersonal, more factory-like.

equipment manufacturing. The same high level of union membership is estimated for contract construction, transportation and mining and quarrying. In contrast, the highest estimate of white collar union membership is 13 percent.

As a result of union activity organized workers have reaped greater benefits than have unorganized workers. This applies not only to wages and fringe benefits, but to conditions of work as well. Government figures to this effect have been public property for years, and private surveys have substantiated the conclusions.

A 1960 survey of consumer finances conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan revealed that union families as a group have achieved higher levels of income than comparable non-union families, have larger holdings in terms of liquid



assets, are able to contract a higher average amount of installment obligations, and account for a higher proportion of home ownership.

Seventy years ago the income of the white collar worker was almost double that of the manual worker. Thirty years ago salaried employees earned 30 percent more than manual workers. Today, the factory worker has a definite edge over his white collar neighbor. Business Week said in November 1954, "in manufacturing, the salaried workers' wage advantage has disappeared. It may be gone forever."

Before the emergence of strong trade unions some unorganized white collar workers could point to superior benefits in the form of paid holidays and vacations, pensions, sick leave, hospitalization and other welfare benefits. Today union members have these benefits, contractually guaranteed.

There was a time when many white collar employees could boast of relatively greater job stability, could cite a better record of steady employment. But union-forged provisions such as call-in pay and supplementary unemployment payments have reduced that advantage.

In another phase of present day job security concern—the effects of automation—white collar workers face as serious a problem as workers in factories, but with this difference: In most cases they must face them alone without the protection afforded by a union contract.

Despite all the apparent advantages of union membership, white collar employees have not responded to the same extent as blue collar workers, an indication of the differences as well as the similarities, between the two groups. The most significant difference lies in the area of working relations and attitudes. The "working distance" between supervisor and supervised

has been narrower in white collar employment. Identification with management traditionally has been closer. But the changes that have brought about the increase in both the number and percentage of white collar workers have also altered working relationships. The working distance has widened.

Introduction of complex office machinery and the growth in the size of white collar establishments have transformed the individual clerical operation into an almost factory-like job. Some insurance companies have designed new office buildings much like factories, with a minimum of partitions, and housing a large number of clerical workers performing routine tasks under impersonal supervision. Some companies employing large numbers of clerical workers engaged in a multiplicity of procedures have installed conveyor belts that carry papers and documents from desk to desk, in a manner strikingly similar to an assembly line in a mass production plant.

Departure from past relationships is apparent also for engineers, who today stand very high in the prestige scale. They often find themselves dealt with as just another group of hired hands, particularly if they are associated with a company hiring large numbers of engineers and technicians.

A lag exists, however, between the fact of the change and perception of that fact by many of those affected. Even though industry and business in general have become highly organized and highly impersonal in their form, structure and operations, the majority of white collar employees still think in terms of the past rather than the present. One observer has commented that "the dilemma of the white collar worker arises from his strong desire to follow a course of individual action in a situation where only group action can be effective."

White collar worker: special problems to be solved by group action as changed conditions outdate tradition.



All manner of modern propaganda techniques are brought to bear upon the white collar worker to confirm his belief that in the white collar universe his interests can best be advanced through individual effort. This is one of the obstacles to union organization. So long as unionism is portrayed, without challenge, as a leveling force, as an impediment to personal advancement through individual merit, the undiscerning white collar worker will view it as a threat.

In addition, the very work situation creates group elements that can be manipulated to act against organizing suggestions. Strong social ties develop in the office, the laboratory, the drafting room, as they do in any work situation, and strong loyalties emerge. Employers recognize this and are efficient in exploiting it. They identify the union as an outside force with foreign concepts, different ideals, strange values. Its intrusion means the formation of a new group, the supplanting of the old. Movement of this sort can be easily channeled in the direction of "independent organization" or professional association to frustrate legitimate unionization.

It is the job of the union to help those who cannot see their work world realistically, to realize that changing conditions have exerted the greatest possible leveling effect; that work changes have reduced many white collar positions to routine chores. The union must help them recognize that in today's complex society it is group action that best protects individual interests.

The white collar worker is concerned with personal respect, dignity and recognition. He believes, clinging to the belief sometimes with desperate tenacity, that the white collar world is the same as tradition and the white collar myth say it is. Presented with proof that other workers, organized workers, have forged ahead economically and in security, some will try to hold on to any shred of justification for continuing to serve in what otherwise might be an inferior post.

At least, he thinks, he has his prestige. He is treated as an important individual; his progress is a matter between himself and his employer and depends upon his own ability and initiative. He is respected; he has status. On whose head will his wrath fall when he is confronted with the proposition that his status, his income, his individual importance to the enterprise, as well as his security—all have been downgraded? Will he be angry at the company? The system? Or the union for its assault upon his cherished illusions? Channeling his dissatisfaction is one of the major functions of white collar organizing.*

Although the existence of a group bound together by ties of common experience and work can be a formidable obstacle it can also be an aid to organizing, for the very existence of a group suggests organizing potential. Group loyalty is one of the preconditions for organizing. It is the job of the union to help white collar workers realize they are united by many com-

mon bonds and that they will be acting logically and in their own best interests by formalizing the group to which they already belong, i.e., in forming or joining a union.

The process of helping white collar workers understand this fact is the same process followed for every other group of workers. It is the sum total of methods used to assist workers, no matter where, how, or for whom they work, to analyze their own needs and perceive the most effective means of satisfying them.

There is no single way of organizing. Each organizing task is unique. An approach that succeeds on one occasion may fail on another; an unsuccessful tactic may prove victorious in different circumstances. This holds true in organizing production workers, maintenance workers, craftsmen or service personnel. It holds true for white collar employees, too. But insofar as white collar workers are both the same as and different from other categories of workers, it must be recognized that some variation in organizing method is indicated for the white collar group.

Organizing among white collar workers calls for greater individual attention than was required for organizing industrial workers in the past. General appeals or exhortations are apt to be less effective; specific appeals developed around specific problems are more likely to produce a favorable response.

Those who organize white collar workers must be able to translate trade unionism into the many different languages of the white collar world; they must be capable of interpreting the needs of white collar workers in trade union terms. This means that bargaining goals must be tailored to the special problems and motivations of particular groups of white collar employees.

The mother and housewife who returns to work for four or five years to help pay off some debts or build up a fund for a down payment on a house is not going to respond to a union collective bargaining program featuring pensions. But she can get mighty excited about a severance pay plan.

A degree-holding electronics engineer may not be impressed by a time-honored seniority program, but he is likely to show interest in a proposal for time off, with no loss in pay, for attendance at professional meetings, for pursuing graduate work, for preparing scientific papers.

So great is the organizing potential and so great the need that there is neither time nor room for organizing deterrents of our own making. There should be an across-the-board commitment to the proposition that jurisdictional impediments must not be permitted to arise. Internal machinery should be developed to eliminate that factor.

For white collar workers—or employees, as most of them prefer to be called—organization will come when they recognize the realities of their present situation and the need for unionization as a solution.

The Cost of 'Off-Year' Apathy

by James L. McDevitt

There isn't a union contract in America worth the paper it is written on—if there is a state legislature or a Congress that wants to destroy it.

The trade union movement has had ample proof of that fact in the enactment of state laws denying labor and management the right to negotiate union-shop agreements and in the passage of a whole range of state and local ordinances abridging labor's historic rights to organize, picket or strike.

At the national level one need look no further than the 1947 passage of Taft-Hartley or the 1959 enactment of Landrum-Griffin to realize the potent weapon that an unfriendly Congress has to negate union contracts.

Often the adverse impact of government on collective bargaining gains is more subtle. State legislatures, county councils and municipal governments are constantly involved with the equities—or inequities—of sales, property and school taxes which could eat up the economic gains won at the bargaining table. They likewise hold the key to enactment of meaningful unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation legislation, establish eligibility for public assistance, consider garnishment laws and are concerned with the problems of schools, highways and other public works.

Whether local, state or federal governing bodies are truly representative of the working people of America and responsive to their needs depends on one thing: The quality of the political education and activity of the trade union movement.

The need for such activities is vital, and yet there are far too many Americans who do not understand just what it is we have at stake. Too many of us—trade union members and business and professional men alike—have said for too long that politics is not for us; that they (meaning the politicians) run the country; that what we do as individuals won't make any difference; that there is really no point in trying to understand the complex issues facing us—particularly after a hard day on the job, and with an easy-to-turn-on television set just across the room.

This attitude is one we can no longer afford. Each of us is going to have to take a long, hard look at our government at all levels, to balance our political books as objectively and soberly as we balance our account books, and to take aggressive, hard-headed

action in the light of what we find.

Certainly the 1960 election should have laid to rest for all time the argument that what we do, as individuals, doesn't count. President John F. Kennedy won the highest office in the land by a hairline margin averaging less than one vote per precinct. There are 166,137 election precincts in the 50 states—and Kennedy's plurality was 112,881 votes. Can anyone who took part in the election fail to be impressed by the importance of his own vote? Or can those who stayed away from the polls—and there were some 16 million eligible voters who did—help but wonder whether the result might have been different if they had voted?

The presidential race wasn't the only close race last November. More than one-third of the successful candidates for the Senate and one-fourth of the winning candidates for the House—11 senators and 92 representatives, in all—won election by a majority of less than 5 percent of the vote cast. Five representatives won their seats with majorities of less than 1,000 votes.

All this adds up to compelling reason why organized labor must continue to press its twin campaign of getting members and their families registered and out to the polls on election day. Equally important is COPE's basic task of helping trade unionists understand the key issues, knowing the candidate's positions on these issues, and raising voluntary funds to aid liberals in their campaign.

This job, never an easy one, encounters additional difficulties in off-year elections when normal public apathy reasserts itself in the aftermath of a presidential election. And yet the course of state and national elections for the next decade is about to be decided, in large measure, as 25 state legislatures tackle the problems of reapportioning their delegates to Congress.

We Americans like to congratulate ourselves that—win, lose or draw—each of us has a chance to cast a ballot equal in weight to everybody else's.

While this is a comfortable thought it is, unfortunately, all wrong. The truth is that many of us, in effect, cast only half a ballot, or sometimes only a third of a ballot.

Most of us are familiar with the fact that Nevada, with a population of only 285,000, has the same number of United States senators as New York, with a population of 17 million. This is accepted as part of the constitutional structure of the nation, occasioned

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The good citizen has an equal responsibility to vote and to remain politically informed in-between elections.

by the need of the founding fathers to give equal representation in one body of the federal legislature, to each of the states.

To balance this, on the other hand, the constitution also provided in substance that the representation of the states in the House of Representatives should be in rough proportion to the national population. Every 10 years, after each federal census, Congress reapportions this representation to take account of shifts in population.

Based on last year's census, 16 states will lose seats in the House, effective with the 88th Congress which convenes in January 1963. Biggest loser will be Pennsylvania, whose delegation will lose 3 seats; while Arkansas, Massachusetts and New York lose two each; and Alabama, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina and West Virginia lose one each. These states must realign all of their congressional districts before the 1962 elections or run their entire delegations at-large.

Meanwhile, nine states will gain House seats: California picking up eight new congressmen; Florida gaining four; and Arizona, Hawaii, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio and Texas gaining one each. For these states the problem is less severe for, instead of redistricting, they can keep their current district lines and run the additional seats at-large.

State legislatures are charged with the responsibility of drawing new district lines. The fairest and most democratic method to achieve this result would be to divide the state into compact and convenient areas with approximately the same number of inhabitants.

Of particular significance to the labor movement is that, as things now stand, it is the urban districts—in which trade unionists live—which are being disenfranchised by this imbalance in congressional districts.

In times gone by the population of the nation was largely rural and was spread fairly evenly over the territory of any state. With industrialization and urbanization all this changed. People crowded to-

gether more and more into a relatively few metropolitan areas. But the boundaries of congressional districts were never altered to match these shifts.

As a consequence, measures favored by the majority of Americans—such as modernization of unemployment compensation, improvements in social security, housing and aid to education, to cite just a few—often are defeated in Congress because control is exerted by a minority of the voters who elect a majority of the congressmen.

If this problem were confined solely to Congress it might not be too difficult to change this discrimination by suitable legislation—similar to that introduced in the 87th Congress by Representative Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), who is renewing his 10-year battle for legislation requiring that congressional districts be "contiguous and compact," and do not vary more than 20 percent from the average obtained by dividing the number of districts into the state's population.

But redistricting is presently handled by the state legislatures themselves—and they are suffering from the same problem of unfair representation. Sometimes representation in a state legislature is on a one-vote-per-county basis—which obviously discriminates against the more populous urban counties. Sometimes there is a resort to "gerrymandering," the artificial arrangement of district boundaries to weight voting in the legislature in favor of one party.

Often these arrangements are frozen into state constitutions and can be changed only with great difficulty. In other cases the existing disproportion shields the privileged minority from change because they have the voting strength in the legislature to veto any reapportionment that would dilute their legislative control. In such cases only prolonged efforts and an aroused public opinion can hope to accomplish very much.

Although reapportionment—both congressional and state—looms as the largest single problem requiring concerted political action by labor, it is by no means the only one. The full range of labor-backed legislation at the state and local levels is at stake in this year's elections. In 1961 there will be elections in 700 cities of 10,000 or more population in 45 states; and there will be statewide elections in Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Wisconsin. All of these states—except Virginia and Wisconsin—are directly involved in the congressional redistricting question.

The political issues facing trade unions continue to be immense—even though there is no political magic like a presidential election to stimulate voter participation. The job ahead will require even more vigor and enthusiasm than has been displayed in the past.

In short, each of us has a duty to remain informed about the issues and to participate in the political life of our community, our state and our nation. The costs and peril of nonparticipation are too great for any of us to contemplate.

The Aging: Wrinkles Are

by Don Gregory



America has long prided itself on being a young society. This is no longer true. The nation is now a mature society and must accept all the responsibilities that maturity implies. Refusal to face this fact will be to no avail. The growing numbers of older people will not permit it.

Millions of elderly citizens are on the move, strong in number and armed with political and economic potential far beyond that of the aged in any culture ever known to man.

They constitute an impressive force: Almost 17 million men and women over 65 today . . . the number expected to double in the next 40 years . . . and the over-75 age group will triple . . . each with a vote and each with greater buying power than ever before.

To our youth-conscious society, this should be reason enough to start respecting wrinkles. Too long have we denied the older citizen. Too long have we shut him away in a dreary back room. Too long have we seen his suffering and told him this was the price he must pay for growing old. Soon—very soon—he'll be able to answer back and make us listen.

Before the turn of the century the United States was young. Only one out of every 25 citizens was over 65. Today, we are mature with one of every 11 citizens over 65. In turn, some 52 million Americans—about half the adult population—are in the 45-and-up age bracket; and by the year 2025, there will be about 55 million people over 65, estimates show.

Life expectancy for an American child born in 1960 is 69 years of age. In the Holy Roman Empire, it was 23.

The aggregate cash income of older people now amounts to about 10 percent of the total national income and is between 6 and 7 percent of the gross national product. Standing at about \$30 billion now, the aged income figure may top \$55 billion before 1970.

Simply stated, these statistics add up to more old folks possessing the wherewithal to exert a pro-

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Are Changing the Face of America

found influence on the society in which they live. How did this come about?

Those offspring of progress—science and productivity—are responsible. Scientific advances lengthened the life span, increased productivity provided the means of subsistence. And both are looking to make even greater strides forward in the future.

Clearly, as the years pass, this army of the aged could become either the formidable foe of a complacent society or a productive part of an understanding society. Until recently, ours has been a complacent society. The aging have been frequently abused, often overlooked and most generally shrugged off. A perceptive educator summed up society's attitude: Why worry about a falling star in a rising world?

Fundamentally, the needs of the older citizen are the same as those of any other age group—food, shelter, clothing, fulfillment. The difference rests in the special problems inherent in the methods of meeting these needs—problems due to the age factor.

Not only have we ignored these hard core needs, we have not even bothered to develop a philosophy which makes old age respectable. Our society has cherished, applauded and rewarded its own youthful countenance. Now the crow's feet are beginning to appear.

A refusal to see the basic needs of our older citizens can be easily understood; they cost money. But what's the price tag on a philosophy, a belief, an attitude?

Over the years, organized groups such as social welfare, labor, educational and religious bodies, which attempted to point out the enormity of the evolving problem were written off as "do-gooders."

Labor was more fortunate than those who shared its convictions, however. Labor had effective machinery it could use to help the aged. Unions fought for decent working conditions, shorter hours and safety precautions which helped to preserve the strength and health of the individual and added immeasurable years to the life span of millions. In addition, trade unions raised the level of earnings, making it possible for people to obtain good pensions and enjoy a better standard of living in their later years.

Many unions have also made it possible for older people to continue working if they want through secur-

ing recognition of seniority rights and through successful collective bargaining against rigid, inflexible retirement rules. Some unions operate their own pension plans. Some have established homes for retired members.

Scores of unions have assisted their members in planning for retirement through pre-retirement educational programs. Likewise, they have opened senior citizen centers in many communities—centers which have become community facilities for the aged.

Along with this, unions have set up high-standard health centers where quality medical care is made available to union members and their families.

It must be recalled, too, that labor and its allies were in the struggle a quarter of a century ago to provide income as a matter of right for older people through social insurance legislation.

Nevertheless, labor and others came to realize their best efforts were not enough to cope with the aging problem. This was a national problem, and as such it demanded the full resources and a concerted effort of the nation as a whole.

A start was made in January of this year when the first large-scale White House Conference on Aging was held in Washington, D. C. Approximately a year and a half had gone into the planning for this national parley. Money was appropriated and given to states to hold state conferences, the results of which were submitted to the national planning group.

When the conference was first called in September 1958 it was evident that the American Medical Association, in league with insurance companies and the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., would do all in its power to use it as a forum against any enactment of federal health benefits for the aged through the social security system.

The AFL-CIO took note of this in a resolution passed in September 1959 at its Third Constitutional Convention—a detailed policy resolution that pointed up the needs of the aging and called for specific measures to remedy the ills plaguing America's senior citizens.

By the time January 1961 rolled around, there was graphic proof that the AMA-insurance-Chamber combine had done its work well—perhaps too well. Shortly

before the conference, at an AMA convention, a report was made revealing how this political organization had worked to pack the conference.

AMA Executive Vice President F. J. L. Blasingame presented the report and stated: "When the allocation of delegates was made by those in charge of the White House Conference on Aging, the (AMA) field staff immediately took this information to the states, in an effort to get as many physicians and qualified lay leaders as possible designated by the governors of the states to be delegates to this conference.

"At the same time, the (AMA Field Service) Division worked with the states in getting physician representation on the Governors' Committee on Aging, which has the responsibility of developing statements to be presented to the White House Conference.

"The states were also encouraged to work with the insurance industry, chambers of commerce and other groups likewise to obtain representative delegates to the White House Conference. This met with an excellent degree of success, in spite of the fact that social and welfare workers immediately and spontaneously requested that they be designated among the state delegates."

This, then, was the "victorious" project report made to an AMA convention. But it read more like a public confession of guilt to many of the delegates arriving in Washington for what they had been told was to be a "grass roots" conference on aging.

Further proof of the AMA's rigging tactics came to light in the week preceding the White House Conference when it was disclosed that more than 10 percent of the 2,800 registered delegates were physicians and dentists. Most had been placed in key posts at conference work-group meetings.

In the opening hours of the conference, it was widely feared that this first, full-scale national attempt to help the aged would fail dismally if the AMA succeeded in harnessing the delegates to its own narrow viewpoint.

The issue of providing desperately-needed health care for millions of old people was in the center of the table—and the AMA had all the cards stacked in its favor.

But as the conference progressed, three factors worked to render the AMA's blocking tactics ineffectual. First was the soundness of the social security principle; second was the vigor and enthusiasm with which the outnumbered liberal delegates tackled their job. Finally, there was the adverse reaction of the delegates to the blatant methods used by the AMA to rig the conference.

Of the hundreds of recommendations coming out of the White House Conference, five are of special significance.

In September 1959, the AFL-CIO convention called for: improvements in social insurance programs; improvements in public assistance; health benefits

through social security; legislation to provide comfortable housing at reasonable costs to old people; and efforts aimed at protecting human rights so as to strengthen respect for the aged.

In January 1961 the White House Conference on Aging agreed on every score.

The conference section dealing with the impact of inflation on retired citizens recommended that Old-Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance benefits be adjusted to changes in prices, wages and productivity.

The income maintenance section of the conference called for increased appropriations for older people on public assistance. This same section endorsed the recommendation that the social security mechanism should be the basic means of financing health care for the aged.

In the area of housing for the aged, the conference urged the federal government to take immediate steps: (1) to expand and liberalize federal mortgage insur-



ance and long-term loans; (2) to organize and conduct a broad research program; and (3) to expand and extend the public housing program for the elderly of inadequate income as well as the new direct loan program.

The conference looked to protection of the dignity of America's old people by setting forth what what is called a "Senior Citizen's Charter" in which nine rights and six obligations of older people were spelled out.

The charter states:

"Each of our Senior Citizens, regardless of race, color or creed, is entitled to:

- "The right to be useful.
- "The right to obtain employment, based on merit.
- "The right to freedom from want in old age.
- "The right to a fair share of the community's recreational, educational and medical resources.
- "The right to obtain decent housing suited to needs of later years.
- "The right to the moral and financial support of one's family so far as is consistent with the best interest of the family.
- "The right to live independently, as one chooses.
- "The right to live and die with dignity.



● "The right of access to all knowledge as available on how to improve the later years of life.

"The aging, by availing themselves of educational opportunities, should endeavor to assume the following obligations to the best of their ability:

"1. The obligation of each citizen to prepare himself to become and resolve to remain active, alert, capable, self-supporting and useful so long as health and circumstances permit and to plan for ultimate retirement.

"2. The obligation to learn and apply sound principles of physical and mental health.

"3. The obligation to seek and develop potential avenues of service in the years after retirement.

"4. The obligation to make available the benefits of his experience and knowledge.

"5. The obligation to endeavor to make himself adaptable to the changes added years will bring.

"6. The obligation to attempt to maintain such relationships with family, neighbors and friends as will make him a respected and valued counsellor throughout his later years."

The conference policy statement on housing is indicative of how the delegates probed each issue and came up with a comprehensive, workable program. The policy statement defines "adequate housing" as "housing which the aging can afford, that meets the special physical needs of the aged, designed to avoid isolation from the regular community or an institutionalized feeling."



The policy statement maintains: "Solving the problem calls for an integrated attack by private industry, philanthropic organizations and government at the local, state and federal levels."

It views as integral parts of the housing picture "the special needs of the aged, such as proper transportation, shopping, medical and hospital facilities, utilities, churches, cultural outlets and congenial neighbors."

Outcome of the White House Conference gives rise to the hope that the nation may be about to undertake programs that will satisfy the hard-core needs of the aging.

If this proves to be the case, it will provide a solid base from which our society can begin to grapple with the second or larger aspect of the aging question: The development of a national philosophy through a change in attitudes. This is not a chicken-or-the-egg matter. The hard-core needs must be met first.

The conference section concerned with population trends emphasized this point in its section report which stated:

"... Any meaningful role is difficult unless sound health and income sufficient to maintain reasonably decent living standards is available. Given health and adequate income, older citizens can be free to adopt new roles and status in our society and develop unusual potentialities because they can be free of physical compulsions, of the need to conform, of the need to compete and of the need for education for its utilitarian value only. . . ."

The way certain pieces of the jigsaw puzzle of aging fit together will affect industry and labor when it comes to meeting the hard-core needs. For gainful employment is still the major source of income for the over-65 population.

A variety of trends in the job picture deserves the attention of unions and management if the basic needs are to be met successfully.

One of the first special problems is expected to occur in the current decade. The depression babies, now making up the 35-44 year age group, are comparatively few in number. In the Sixties, this will reduce the number of mature workers available for promotion or advancement to supervisory positions, leaving the way clear for older workers to advance. This becomes a particularly knotty problem, however, due to the fact that between 1960 and 1970 about 26 million young people will be entering the work force. This will give the present decade an employment situation in which the old and young are competing to a greater degree than before.

Mandatory retirement poses another problem if present trends persist. More workers are under pension plans and the rate is increasing. Statistics show that a large measure of those covered by pension systems are subject to some form of involuntary retirement. Experts claim a higher proportion of retire-

ments will be involuntary rather than voluntary in the years to come.

The impact of women workers on the industrial scene will be considerable. From about age 50, women outnumber men in our society and the spread increases with age. While the overall percentage of over-65 males has been declining in the work force, the percentage of over-65 females has been on the upswing.

Widows currently are the most impoverished group in the older population. A relatively small proportion qualify directly or through their husbands for Old Age Survivors benefits. Few have savings. They must work.

With the rapid rise in the participation of women in the labor force, however, the economic status of older women is expected to improve greatly in future years as they become eligible for retirement and pension benefits.

The effect of the greatly increasing consumer buying power of old people will make itself felt in special ways in the years ahead. Right now, the aged as a consumer group are given scant attention by many segments of the business world.

Television is one example. The aged are considered a captive audience. They sit at home and watch anything, TV producers claim. But once the aged are recognized as a strong, healthy market with distinct buying needs and habits, television along with others will begin to cater to their special interests.

This is but another indication of how the aging have yet to exercise the influence they now possess. The lack of any group solidarity and the lower educational level of the aged have been given as two reasons for this. The educational level is rising and is expected to resemble more closely that of the general population in the future. But whether group solidarity—absent because the aged have no common religion, no common nationality, no common bond except age—will develop remains to be seen.

All these elements add to the complexity of tomorrow's economic picture. The real challenge, however, awaits the total society in the establishment of a new concept of aging and the aged.

The creation of new roles is the first order of business here. Today the majority of our aged find themselves with no defined role, no recognized place in our scheme of things. The elderly mother no longer functions as a mother. The retired worker no longer works. The aged school teacher no longer teaches.

In our society, the individual's occupation—work itself—gives status. We reward and appreciate those who work and contribute. We condemn those who do not. Leisure is something to be earned. It is not a man's due. Yet, when we consider the aged, do these values apply?

Perhaps the greatest single need is for new mean-

ingful roles unrelated to work and divorced from the set of values that serves a younger society.

We need to ask: Should work be viewed as an end in itself? Why do we try to keep old people busy? Why do we first think of sending both the old and young into arts and crafts classes, as if arts and crafts are remedies for all ills and one standard should apply to youth and age?

Maybe we need to reflect on Robert Louis Stevenson's thoughts on the value of work. Stevenson declared: "There is a sort of dead-alive, hackneyed people about, who are scarcely conscious of living except in the exercise of some conventional occupation."

One wise philosopher saw his later years as "a time in which I have the right not to stand up and be counted, when I want to sit down and think; a time when I've earned the right not to make up my mind constantly."

A noted university professor of advanced years who was still active in educational circles saw himself and others "presiding at the funeral of our own reputation."

"I find myself lecturing and forgetting what the subject of the sentence is to which I am vainly and publicly trying to hitch a predicate," he confessed.

Above all, it may well behoove all of us to develop an attitude or philosophy in which we do not force a man like this to find that predicate.

The moral obligations of an intelligent people in a mature society demand that we work for and with our older citizens to create a world in which the aging are treated, respected and rewarded to the same degree as all others and are appreciated for the contributions only they can make. Surely, this is the light needed to illumine the twilight years.

Delving into the impact of marital status on living arrangements of older people, the White House Conference on Aging planning committee came up with the following life pattern that can be expected by the average couple today who marry when the bride is 20 and the groom is 23.

Their last child will be born when he is 29 and she is 26. At age 50 for the man and 47 for the woman, they enter the "empty nest" or no-child-at-home period. This lasts 14 years. If the husband dies, the woman then goes into widowhood for 16 years. If the woman dies first, which is less likely, the husband is a widower for seven years.

In 1900 the average person age 20 could expect to live only 43 more years. Today, the chance that both husband and wife will be alive at age 70 is better than one to three.



Strike Insurance: A Threat to Collective Bargaining

by John Barry

Strike insurance, a management bargaining weapon developed and refined by the newspaper industry, is spreading rapidly into other fields. The airlines and railways already have put their versions of such insurance into effect. In 1959 the steel companies considered adopting a mutual aid formula, to apply if only part of the industry were struck. The American Trucking Association last year began to discuss a plan of its own.

Unless this movement is curbed by legal action initiated recently by the airlines unions before the Civil Aeronautics Board and by the Railroad Trainmen in federal court—or by government regulation—chances are strike insurance will attract an ever-widening number of employer groups. The result would be to damage the collective bargaining process beyond recognition.

Because of the secrecy surrounding the writing of strike insurance, it is impossible to gauge the extent to which it is already a factor in many negotiations. Few employers and even fewer insurance executives are willing to discuss the subject.

In the simplest terms, strike insurance ostensibly is a pooling of funds by members of an employer

group to provide compensation against revenue losses by any member whose employees are on strike. Management representatives have in the past attempted to minimize such plans as a mere extension of the principle of disaster insurance.

"It is true that the (Brooklyn) Eagle has strike insurance," Publisher Frank D. Schroth said during the Newspaper Guild's strike at the paper in 1955. "I also have burglary and fire insurance."

Editor & Publisher, weekly trade publication for the newspaper industry, argued in 1953 that the plan adopted by the American Newspaper Publishers Association was limited to maintenance costs. "It only pays to keep the plant in working order" during a strike, E&P said.

Union officials have a different view. The railroad plan, said W. P. Kennedy, BRT president, "is not strike insurance, but lockout insurance. Unless it is exposed for the false front it is, it will destroy or make meaningless the right to strike in this country."

The mutual strike aid pact originated by six large airlines and later joined by four others is described by the major airline unions as "an open declaration of warfare" and "a repudiation of the statutory requirement that collective bargaining be in good faith."

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The newspaper unions point out that the ANPA plan has given publishers a source of funds to recruit professional strikebreakers, who draw as much as \$600 a week in pay and expenses, not only to defeat a strike, but with the object of completely eliminating union representation of their employees. In the long Portland, Ore., strike, for example, strikebreakers were on the job on November 11, 1959, the day after the Stereotypers walked out at the Oregonian and the Journal in a dispute which quickly involved all other unions at the plants.

"Through strike insurance and 'pooled' scabs led by professional scab-herders we have seen the results of unlimited finances poured into a city to destroy free trade unionism," Elmer Brown, president of the Typographical Union, told delegates to the 1960 Newspaper Guild convention.

"It's against the public interest," was the flat declaration of Wilfrid T. Connell, president of the Photo Engravers and of the International Allied Printing Trades Association.

Confirmation of long-held suspicions that ANPA members had formed a strike insurance pool was first established in 1953 during a Guild strike at the Seattle Times. The Pacific Northwest Underwriter, an insurance publication, quoted Charles Lindeman, publisher of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, as stating that the P-T, the Times and a large number of other dailies in the United States were joined in a strike fund pool.

The 'Group' Plan's Costs

You're a publisher, let's pretend, and you want to figure out the cost of your strike insurance. Here's how to go about it, as outlined by the Newspaper Publishing Premium Fund Committee:

COST OF INSURANCE TO PUBLISHERS. The amount to be paid by each insured for daily and/or extra Sunday indemnity will be as follows:

Indemnity Payable	Payment for each \$100 of per diem Indemnity	Payment for each \$100 of Extra Sunday Indemnity
25 days	\$123.00	\$12.30
50 days	163.50	16.35
100 days	203.00	20.30

Example if Extra Sunday indemnity is ordered

Subject: One newspaper having weekday and Sunday editions.

Per diem Indemnity ¹	\$7,000	7 days per week
Extra Sunday Indemnity ²	5,000	
Period of coverage	50 days	

Computation of Cost:

¹ \$163.50 (cost per hundred for 50 days) X 70 (number of hundreds of daily coverage) **\$11,445.00**

² \$16.35 (cost per hundred of extra Sunday indemnity) X 50 (number of hundreds of extra Sunday coverage) **\$817.50**

TOTAL PAYMENT \$12,262.50

Two years later, when it was revealed that Brooklyn Eagle Publisher Schroth had collected some \$250,000 in strike insurance before folding the paper during the Guild's strike, the union asked Jacob K. Javits, then New York State attorney general, to investigate strike insurance "as a possible conspiracy against the insurance and other laws" of the state. Javits' investigation turned up strike insurance policies written for members of the ANPA, which he referred to the State Department of Insurance.

"On July 26, 1956," Javits wrote the Guild, "I was advised by that department that the filings of each insurance company involved were rejected on the ground that approval of such coverage would be contrary to public policy." Newspaper publishers, however, have seldom been known to let public policy stand in their way. They simply went out of the country to get their strike insurance.

In March 1959 the Guild acquired a memorandum issued by the Newspaper Premium Fund Committee of the ANPA soliciting subscribers to the strike insurance plan and describing it in detail. The underwriters were not identified, but Mendes & Mount of New York were named as their representatives. They are the New York attorneys for Lloyd's of London. The Montreal Trust Company was given as the escrow agent to which all premium payments are made.

("Ironically," observed Brown, "while the publishers' strike insurance program is subjected to no regulation whatever in this country, trade unions—with the enactment of the infamous Landrum-Griffin Act—have had the most severe restrictions imposed on them in the matter of bonding their officers.")

The plan, open only to ANPA members, allows a publisher to buy any amount of insurance up to a maximum of \$10,000 a day and \$500,000 a year. The annual cost for each \$100 of daily benefits is \$123.50 for 25 days, \$163.50 for 50 days and \$203 for 100 days. A ceiling of \$2 million is placed on benefits payable to any group of publishers in the same city or signatories to the same collective bargaining contract. In cities where joint negotiations are the practice, benefits also are paid to a publisher who locks out his employees in sympathy with a struck competitor. An extra Sunday benefit is available at added cost. The plan anticipated aggregate coverage of at least \$17.5 million, and it is estimated that more than 400 U.S. publishers are now subscribers.

In theory, the publisher is obligated to offer arbitration of any labor dispute before he becomes eligible for benefits during a strike. In practice, the offer turns out to be what has become known to unionists in the industry as "ANPA arbitration"—every clause in the contract must be opened, not merely those in dispute.

The benefits cited are payable to a publisher only if publication of his paper is suspended by the strike. If he continues to publish, benefits cover actual

losses—including "profits that the insured is prevented from earning because of partial suspension."

The mutual aid pact signed by the airlines effective October 20, 1958, is much simpler than the ANPA plan, but nonetheless is a form of strike insurance. Because the airlines were required to submit the agreement for CAB approval, its terms were immediately available to the public.

In the midst of a strike by the Machinists against Capital Airlines, that line joined with American, Eastern, Pan American, Trans World and United Air Lines to set up the pact.

As originally written, the agreement was applicable in the event of a strike "resulting in the shutdown of . . . flight operations, which has been called for reasons which include the enforcement of demands in excess of or opposed to the recommendations of a board established by the President of the United States under Section 10 of the Railway Labor Act (to which airline bargaining is subject) and applicable to such party; or which has been called before the employees on strike have exhausted the procedures of the Railway Labor Act or which is otherwise unlawful. . . ." The struck carrier, in such cases, was to receive from the other five an amount equal to their increased revenues attributable to the strike, less any increased expenses involved.

The pact also obligated the struck airline to channel its normal traffic to other signers of the agreement, if possible. That clause was deleted, however, as a condition of CAB approval, which was voted, 4 to 1, over the vigorous objections of the airline unions.

Subsequently, on March 7, 1960, the carriers amended the agreement to make it applicable to strikes called in the absence of a presidential emergency board, as well as those previously described. Four more airlines—Braniff, Continental, National and Northwest—then joined.

The airline unions again protested and the CAB finally ordered a hearing. There the issue stands.

In the board's first consideration of the pact, the IAM, Railway Clerks, Air Line Agents and Air Line

Pilots filed statements opposing approval of the agreement. The CAB, however, could find nothing in the pact that would interfere with good-faith bargaining, and said:

"The agreement, although increasing management's abilities to withstand the economic impact of strikes in the same manner that union strike benefits cushion the economic effect on employees, does not purport to affect the carrier's duties under the Railway Labor Act to bargaining in earnest."

One member—G. Joseph Minetti—entered a spirited dissent, charging the board should have called a hearing to consider the "strong likelihood that the multi-employer payments to a negotiating carrier constitute the price for multi-employer representation" in contravention of the law.

Minetti also held that the purpose of the mutual aid pact "is to provide the combined economic power to enforce settlement of labor disputes on whatever terms an Emergency Board may recommend. The agreement thus aims at perpetuation of the tendency to defer bargaining until the issuance of an Emergency Board report, since its only effect on present bargaining practices is to make them more attractive."

"This increased use of Emergency Board recommendations as a carrier's first counter-offer is an unequivocal violation of the bargaining mandate of the Railway Labor Act, since the statute requires good-faith bargaining before the creation of an Emergency Board."

Most complicated of the strike insurance plans known to be operating is that established by the railroads under the guidance of the Association of American Railroads. Like the newspaper publishers' insurance, the railroad plan is insured by a foreign company, the Imperial Insurance Company, Ltd., of Nassau, the Bahamas. The Wall Street Journal described Imperial as a newly-formed company "associated closely with Lloyd's of London." Lloyd's denies it has anything to do with the company. But it also denied for years that it had anything to do with the ANPA plan.

Payment and Receipts Under the Mutual-Aid Pact — Through August 31, 1960¹

Amounts Received By	Amounts Paid by							Total
	American	Capital	Continental	Eastern	Pan American	Trans World	United	
American		\$282,117				\$1,260,088	\$1,830,000	\$3,372,205
Capital	\$908,260			\$300,664		\$418,424	\$992,042	\$2,619,390
Continental ²								
Eastern	\$262,711	\$321,627	\$2,235		\$288,000	\$123,602	\$77,130	\$1,075,305
Pan American								
Trans World	\$727,162	\$136,265		\$424	\$319,000		\$1,189,503	\$2,372,354
United								
Total	\$1,898,133	\$740,009	\$2,235	\$301,088	\$607,000	\$1,802,114	\$4,088,675	\$9,439,254

¹ The figures in this table are derived from the monthly reports made by the airlines to the Civil Aeronautics Board. In a few cases, the figures are approximations and subject to minor revision.

² Continental reported a partial work stoppage to which it attributed certain revenue losses for the period June 9-July 31, 1960; however, Continental reports receiving no payments as of the end of August, 1960.

The plan was put into operation on August 17, 1959, some months after the railroads had launched their attack on wage and work rule agreements and had begun their campaign to pin the "featherbedding" label on their employees.

It covers a struck railroad for all so-called fixed costs, including property taxes, interest charges, payments toward sinking funds and equipment trusts, pensions, maintenance costs, insurance and "the cost of the supervisory, official and other forces necessary in its opinion to preserve applicant's carrier properties in a standby condition" during a strike.

The Wall Street Journal reported that a struck carrier can collect as much as \$600,000 a day in benefits under the plan. Initial financing calls for the payment by each railroad of an amount equal to its own fixed charges for one day—"a total estimated at more than \$6 million for one day," the Journal said. "This sum will be augmented periodically as strike payments are doled out." The article also revealed that each carrier's maximum liability is 20 times its fixed daily charges.

Premiums are deposited by the carriers in a Nassau bank. Administrative costs payable to the insurance company amount to \$150,000 a year, apportioned among the subscribing railroads. Original reports that the plan was under consideration said it would go into effect if endorsed by railroads representing 65 percent of the country's total operating traffic and that no benefits would be payable in any strike shutting down railroads which together are eligible for more than 50 percent of the benefits payable under the plan.

First major benefit payments went to the Long Island Rail Road, which received \$50,000 a day for the 26 days its operations were suspended during last year's strike by the BRT. The Pennsylvania Railroad, which owns all of the Long Island's stock, subsequently received \$600,000 a day in benefits during a 12-day walkout by the Transport Workers and the System Federation representing three AFL-CIO railroad crafts.

The Long Island strike provided labor's first court test of management strike insurance. On September 8, 1960, the Trainmen filed a suit in U.S. District Court in New York for \$10 million in damages, charging that the Long Island and other members of the Association of American Railroads had established an illegal pooling of assets in their strike insurance plan without the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission and an "illegal secret conspiracy" in violation of the antitrust laws.

Named as defendants in the suit, in which the union seeks triple damages for its members' loss of wages and for other charges, are the LIRR, the AAR, the Imperial Insurance Company and 32 of the railroads participating in the strike insurance plan.

The suit refers to Imperial as a "dummy corporation in a foreign land" and declares that its guarantee of \$50,000 daily strike benefits prompted the Long Island

to retreat from a potential agreement in the making seven months before the BRT finally struck the carrier.

The suit also charges that the \$1,350,000 total the railroad collected in insurance benefits during the strike was "in excess of actual costs" incurred by the line and was thus a "financial inducement" to prolong the walkout.

Other unions have questioned the management argument that the various strike insurance plans provide only enough funds to keep things "shipshape" until the strikers return. In the first two years of the airlines' mutual aid pact, American Airlines, to cite just one carrier, without lifting a plane from the ground, collected \$3,372,205 from other parties to the agreement during its dispute with the Air Line Pilots.

The chief effects of strike insurance have been negative. The unions affected by the plans are unanimous in their belief that they have disrupted collective bargaining and led to longer, more frequent strikes. The BRT suit against the railroads specifically charges that the purpose of the carriers' war is "to promote and encourage lengthy work stoppages and lockouts in violation of the transportation policy and the Railway Labor Act."

When the Guild learned the details of the ANPA plan in 1959, Executive Vice President William J. Farson called on the membership to "be prepared to wait out a period of no negotiations while the publishers sit back on their big fat insurance waiting for the striking Guild members to soften up."

A similar view was voiced by President Anthony J. DeAndrade of the Pressmen.

"Our job now," DeAndrade declared, "is to persuade our members to build their defenses against this weapon of the publishers. They've got a pile of money to fight us, and we need a pile of money to fight back."

Fears that longer strikes were in prospect have been fully borne out in the newspaper industry. In recent years, many newspaper strikes have exceeded 50 days and some have extended beyond 100 days. The Guild's 1959 strike at S. I. Newhouse's St. Louis Globe-Democrat lasted 96 days, just shy of the paper's eligibility for maximum strike insurance payments.

The eventual success of the unions in some of these long strikes doesn't make them any more palatable to union officers or rank-and-file members, who turn to picketing as a last resort. The feeling that good-faith bargaining cannot survive under such conditions lies behind the BRT suit for damages and the airline unions' attempt to win reversal of the CAB sanction for the mutual aid pact.

Public policy demands an answer—whether it comes from the CAB, the federal courts or Congress itself.

Are longer, more frequent strikes to become the standard practice in labor-management relations? Does pooling the assets of an entire industry in an alliance against its employees represent a quest for industrial peace? In short, is strike insurance to be allowed to spread?



Workers in The Arab World

by Rev. Clair M. Cook

In Byblos, Lebanon, a native baker stands by his ancient brick oven with its glowing fire below, holding the long-handled wooden shovel with which he takes out the loaves—loaves kneaded on a low wooden table by a woman sitting on a wooden stool so low she appeared to be seated on the floor. The dark stone-walled room is more suitable for a poverty-stricken third-rate garage or machine shop than for a bakery.

In Jordan, on a street just within the ancient city wall separating Arab Jerusalem from the gutted street, still unrepaired, which lies on the Israeli side of the divided city, a little shop proclaims in mosaic tile set over the door, both in Arabic and English, that it is the "Tiles Factory" of Issa Kalil Kassisieh, established in 1900. The dimly-lit 60-year-old "factory" is no more than a dozen feet wide and perhaps 20 feet deep. The workers are two or three Arab men—handsome, with the inevitable dark mustache, perhaps sons or grandsons of the founder—and a couple of apprentice boys. The tiles are baked individually in square tins like cake pans into which they pour the basic cream-colored "batter," then mix in the marbling color—an enormously inefficient process in comparison with mass production procedures.

Down the street is a shoe factory. Here there are four or five machines—treadle operated sewing machines such as one finds in a small cobbler's shop at home. The room is much larger than the "tiles factory" and there are some 15 workers, only three or four of them adults and the rest boys 12 to 14 years old. Obviously the whole operation is not much beyond a complete handcraft stage.

REV. CLAIR M. COOK is the executive director of the Religion and Labor Council of America, Columbus, O.

A candy-maker in Amman proffered a plain piece of somewhat crumbly, sugary confection wrapped in plain oiled paper. Two kettles the size of kettle drums, heated with gas flames, provided the equipment, together with the molds for his product and a bench along the wall in a room not more than 8 by 12 feet. Stacked by the doorway, which fronted the street on the side of one of Amman's steep hills, were bags of ingredients labeled "Pillsbury Mills, Minneapolis."

Below, a crew was excavating into the hillside for the foundation of a new building. But there were no bulldozers or power shovels to make short work of the earth removal. A truck was being loaded by a dozen "basket boys" hoeing the dirt with shovel-size hoes into bushel-size canvas baskets, hoisting them to the shoulder and dumping them over the tailgate into the truck.

Farther up the hill a milkman in ankle-length black gown, with a white kefiyah protecting head and neck from the sun, made a stop. Getting down from his tiny donkey, from which his legs almost touched the ground as he bestrode it, he took a metal milk can from the burlap panier on the donkey's haunch, went up to the house to pour out the day's supply, replaced the can and mounted the beast again.

But the most vivid memory of native enterprise in the Arab world is of the laundryman in an open doorway opening on a Cairo alleyway, near midnight, working under the bright light of a gasoline lantern.

He was ironing what appeared to be hospital coats on an oblong ironing board three times the width of an American housewife's. At its end, on a metal square heated from below, sat his man-sized iron—round, the size of a dinner plate and a couple of inches thick, with a wooden handle across the top. Dexterously he spread the coat on the board, which was only a foot and a half from the floor.

Then he picked up a coke bottle, took a swig of water from it, and with an explosive razzberry of a sound and an accurate aim—pfui!—a fine mist sprinkled his work. He slid the iron across onto the coat, lifted his bare right foot to curl the toes around the handle and steered it quickly and efficiently up and down the coat, around the buttons, and back to its resting place. In a moment more he had folded the garment and was reaching for the next in an exhibition of speed and skill one could only admire.

This is the pattern of the great bulk of Arab production. Manpower is still more economical than machine power. Even on the roads of comparatively advanced Lebanon we saw construction by hand tools, workers breaking rocks with sledge hammers.

In Egypt, where much of the irrigation is still accomplished with hand-cranked Archimedes screws, and in Jordan as well, threshing was being done with bullocks or water buffalo treading endlessly around in a circle drawing a threshing board, a wooden sled fitted on the underside with iron spikes or sharp

stones. Beyond, as they have done for centuries, farmers tossed the grain in the air to let the wind blow the chaff from the loosened grain. It's no wonder that trade unions are weak and often non-existent in such countries as Egypt, whose per capita income in 1956 was only \$111, or Jordan, where the 1957 per capita was still lower at \$103.

But trade unions in this part of the world cannot be judged by the standards of North America or western Europe. They are still small and weak because they have just begun to organize, as the national economies are only now moving toward development after centuries of somnolence.

The governments of the Arab nations generally maintain tight controls over trade union organizations and the standards of union operation differ sharply from those of the free trade union movements of the western world. Inevitably, the labor groups in these nations tend to be closely allied with the political outlook of their governments.

They are allied very closely with the nationalist movements of their respective countries and are not yet completely free from government domination, although none is employer-dominated. Only the League of Trade Unions of Workers and Employees in the Lebanese Republic (JAM'AT) is affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; it has about 6,000 members. The only labor center in Iraq and the only one permitted by the government belongs to the Russian-dominated World Federation of Free Trade Unions. Many of the others are associated with the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.

In Egypt there are unions of workers in transport, textiles and sugar primarily. According to Ibrihim Ghatarifi, Deputy Secretary of Labor and Social Affairs, dues usually run about 5 piasters a month. But that 12.5 cents is a quarter of a day's pay, with the worker earning a total of perhaps \$12 or \$13 in a month. Policemen start at 5 pounds a month Egyptian

(\$11) and go up to 8 pounds (\$18).

Wilton Winn, head of the Associated Press news bureau in Cairo, noted that messengers in their offices are quite highly paid at \$28 a month. A doctor in government service starts out at \$50 a month. Teacher salaries begin at about the same rate, according to Dr. A. N. Hashem, Egyptian Minister of Education; and the fact that they are comparatively so high reflects the new emphasis on the importance of education.

Ghatarifi has been head of the Egyptian delegation to the International Labor Organization since 1945. He claims the total membership of the Egyptian labor movement, which came officially into being in 1942 although some unionization existed as early as 1900, is about a half-million members.

Literacy stands at about 20 percent, but it is rising rapidly among the young. Hashem claims that the Nasser regime has succeeded for the first time in persuading the poor farmers (fellahin) to send their children to school instead of keeping them at home to pump irrigation water and tend the animals. Education, compulsory under the law to age 12, now finds 80 percent of the children in the first six grades, and is currently taking 14 percent of the Egyptian budget. In the last eight years the country has built 1,058 new elementary schools, many in the form of a "combined unit" with a clinic, a 15-bed hospital, a social center, resident doctor and nurses, and an agricultural expert similar to our county agents. The goal is one such unit for every five villages; and the 4,000 villages of southern Egypt are close enough to one another for the farm villagers to walk to such a center. As in all this part of the world, the farmers live in villages and go out to their lands daily; there are no individual farmhouses as we know them. The houses themselves are generally no more than thatched mud huts of two rooms and virtually no furnishings.

Egyptian traditions have placed labor in an inferior position in the eyes of the educated. But now there



Free world labor must nourish youthful Arab unions so they can play fuller part in raising living standards.



is a conscious effort to change the concept, to place a genuine emphasis on the dignity of labor. Preference for white collar jobs is lessening, and growth in technical and vocational education is being stressed.

This year, said Hashem, 998 students are taking graduate study abroad at government expense, with an additional 300 government officials studying outside the country on sabbatical leaves which may run as long as four or five years, with full salary.

From this, it may be seen that the potential of Egypt for lifting itself into modern conditions is great. The labor organizations of the country, now organized by groups—metallic, chemical, transport, and so on—have branches in the provinces and headquarters in Cairo. Although not yet united in an overall organization, Ghatarifi anticipates formation of an all-Egypt trade union federation, if the government agrees, with a similar development in Syria, which is now called the Northern Region of the UAR (United Arab Republic). Egypt's official designation is the Southern Region of the UAR. The nation in its "search for dignity" will need the help a strong trade union movement, growing with the economy, can give to it.

In Jordan, per capita government expenditure in 1959 was \$55.64, far more than Egypt's \$31.92. Sixty percent of the national budget goes to the military, and soldiers are everywhere—Bedouins, mostly, from the Trans-Jordan area, with red and white checked keffiyahs topping their otherwise western uniforms. Until the 1948 war, when Arabs from the Israeli side left their homes, there were two union federations of Arabs in the area later partitioned between Israel and Jordan. Thirty unions made up the Arab Laborers' Societies with a membership of 20,000, while a rival left-wing group had some 5,000 to 8,000 members. These federations, whose membership was mostly in the coastal areas now part of Israel, broke up during the war, but some of their members later formed small unions in the Jordan "West Bank" area at such towns as Ramallah, Nablus and Jerusalem.

In 1952, however, the Jordan government, suspecting Communist tendencies, banned these unions and arrested some of the leaders. The following year a Union Federation law was passed and by 1958 there were 23 registered unions and five more had applied for registration. A new decree passed last June 21 is already beginning to result in greater organization. Transport and hotel workers are among the most active unions, but there are also organizations of shoemakers, cement workers and railroad workers, and an electrical union.

In a country where the population is only 1.5 million—with a third of them in refugee camps, more than 200,000 nomadic or semi-nomadic Bedouins and about another 150,000 "economic refugees"—the movement can grow only as there is a gain in the growth of industrial and craft employment. The half-million refugees are in 25 camps, supported by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency at a cost of

ولحكومتها هي سياسة عنصرية تعالمة ضد التمييز العنصري مهما تبدل اسمه
واختلف شكل قناعه • والكفاح في سبيل المساواة بين أبناء الشعب الأمريكي
يصادفه النجاح والجدال الحالي الذي يدور حول الدمج العنصري في المدارس
ما هو الا مظهر من مظاهر ثورة سلمية هبت الولايات المتحدة خلال
السنوات الاخيرة
الحمية لهذه
وهنا احب
جميع محبي
الناتج عن
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قد ك
كل انوار
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ولا ي
التناك

رسالة مفتوحة
من
الهيئة التنفيذية
لاتحاد الطلاب الافريقيين
في الاتحاد السوفياتي

إن كافة المعلومات المتعلقة بالحركة الطلابية في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية يمكن طلبها بالكتابة مباشرة الى العنوان الآتي:

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
U. S. A.**

The AFL-CIO Dept. of Intl. Affairs has prepared this new Arabic-language pamphlet containing a strong indictment of the Soviet Union's policies of racial discrimination.

In an introduction to the pamphlet, AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany declares that the declaration by the Executive Council of the African Students' Union in the USSR—the text of the publication—"makes a factual exposure and forceful indictment" of discrimination in the Soviet "paradise."

"The African students in the USSR," Meany writes, "have rendered inestimable service to the worldwide fight against racialism by their timely marshalling of the unchallengeable facts regarding the extent and virulence of racialism in the USSR."

Citing the continuing progress being made in the United States against racialism, Meany declares "Wherever there is total monopoly of power, there is despotism. Monopoly of power, whether it is rooted in political, racial, economic or class soil, is the deadly enemy of all human dignity and freedom."

\$33 to \$34 per year for a basic ration of 1,500 calories in summer, 1,600 in winter.

Those who had trades or who could leave the camps have long since done so; the remainder of those who were adults in 1948 are almost entirely farmers, and

there just is no farm work available in the Arab countries because there is already a surplus of farmers. The "economic refugees," who with few exceptions receive no UN help, are even worse off. Technically they are not refugees, for they still have their homes in the frontier villages; but their lands are gone, now a part either of the demilitarized or the Israeli zone. The great and crying need, as Dr. John W. Davies, UNRWA director general, said in Beirut, is for trade and vocational schools to teach the youth of the camps skills with which they can escape the refugee life. But funds are lacking as are plans by the Arab government to provide facilities.

In Jordan there are only two such schools, one of which we saw at Kalandia, where a total of 600 boys can be accommodated, learning such trades as auto mechanics, sheet metal work, electrical wiring and drafting. But there are 16,000 in their age group who should be helped in the same manner.

Of all Arab countries, the most advanced is Lebanon. Only half the size of Israel, which it borders on the north, it is often called the "Switzerland of the Middle East." It is a beautiful country, breathtakingly so in the Qadesha Gorge region which one must traverse to reach the famed Cedars of Lebanon above Besharre. The only country of the region with a Christian majority (about 53 percent) the Lebanese per capita income of \$372 makes its 1.5 million residents the most prosperous in the area. Beirut, a bustling city of a quarter-million on the blue Mediterranean, is the financial and commercial center as it was in the days of the Phoenicians centuries ago. Next to Israel, Lebanon's literacy is the highest in the area with 75 percent (Israel's is 94 percent); no other country from North Africa to Iraq has more than 25 to 30 percent, and in Saudi Arabia it falls to only three persons in 100.

So it is hardly surprising that Lebanon has also the most advanced labor movement. But it may be surprising to learn that the leading, and largest, union is that of bank clerks.

Habib Haddad, a former Lebanese union president, is assistant to the United States labor attache, and he knows the labor movement of Lebanon intimately. Industrialization is coming more rapidly here than in some other countries, and with it an expansion of unions, he said. There are now 76 labor organizations in the country in three major federations, plus seven more in the unlicensed Communist-dominated Federation of Independent Trade Unions; the seven locals, however, are legally licensed.

The other three groups are now in the process of merging to form a single strong national General Confederation which was licensed last year. One of the three is a regional group based in the second largest city, Tripoli in the north, the Federation of Trade Unions in North Lebanon. The Federation of United Unions is headed by the president of the strong bank clerks' union and is now dominated

by the white collar unionists. The third is the ICFTU-affiliated JAMI'AT, whose president is also head of the bakery workers. When the new general confederation finishes the process of preparing constitution and by-laws and the merger is completed, the bulk of the 35,000 union members in the little country will be represented in the International Labor Organization. Both the Communist group and the North Lebanon organization are members of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. The degree of organization is high, about 25 to 30 percent of a labor force of about 100,000, according to Haddad.

The government subsidizes the labor movement to a total of 50,000 Lebanese pounds a year (about \$15,600), according to the government's estimate of the union's membership. Daily pay is far above that in Jordan and Egypt, averaging about \$2 a day; union dues at a minimum of 16 cents a month. Collective bargaining agreements have only recently begun, the oldest being no more than five years back, and such formal negotiations are becoming the rule instead of the exception. Under Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs regulations, a union must give a minimum of 48 hours' notice to the government before a strike, when the ministry begins mediation and conciliation. But in practice, strikes are usually delayed beyond the set deadline in order to give the process more time for success.

Among the leading occupations organized are the textile workers, which have the largest membership although they are not the most completely organized; railroads, air lines, bank and commercial employees. These last are dominated by Christians, but unlike the rest of Lebanese social structure, the unions ignore the "confessional" divisions which are reflected in the political arrangements, where membership in the legislature is strictly in accord with the ratio in the population of Christians, Sunni Moslems, Shiite Moslems and so on. Transport is represented by five different unions of drivers, including a union of taxi owner-drivers. In some unions there is training for shop stewards and similar activity. Politically, the unions hold to the old principle of "reward your friends and punish your enemies," but political activity is quite a minor facet of union life.

This, then, is something of the look of labor in the Arab world today. In Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon there are growing trade union organizations which will expand as industrialization touches their economies with a heavier hand.

But they are not all as free as Lebanon; they will need the support of American and world labor to develop as they ought.

They will have to overcome the political, governmental and social obstacles which prevent them from operating freely in the interests of the exploited Arab worker. Free trade unions, operating without heavy government restraints, can help bring greater well-being to the Arab Middle East.

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